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THE STORAGE OF FOOD AND SURPLUS POSSESSIONS

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Only a limited amount of preserved food can be carried in parfleches and sacks. The rest must be cached. "In those days we had no place to store things when the women had dried a great deal of yucca fruit, mescal, and berries. So we took this food to a hole in the rocks, to a little cave."

These caches are in rocky caves. I've never known them to make one in the ground. This is their secret supply. They can roam around away from this place and come back toward it when they are hungry. Then they get out just so much. They often have valuables in there—extra baskets and other things. An individual household might have its own cache, or several camps of related people might put their goods in together.

This is the way it is fixed on the inside. First a layer of rocks is put down. Then a great deal of oak brush is laid on the rocks. The parfleches are laid on this. Inside each parfleche are layers of food, layers of mescal or yucca fruit, each layer separated from the others by grass. Sticks are placed between the parfleches. The entrance is closed up with rocks and then plastered with mud so the room is sealed and airtight. Then they fix the place over with grass and dirt. You can hardly tell it from the solid mountainside. Food will keep it there for a year or so.

Perhaps they are camping a long way from that cache and they run low on food. They can send a man after some of the provisions then. He closes up the entrance again just as though nobody had ever been there.

261 [431] [596] [252] [251]

Food is not considered an individual or personal possession. The successful hunter sends his wife to her parents with the game he has procured, or a large share of it. Most often the women of the extended family prepare the food from combined stores and hide any surplus in one cave cache.

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The disposition of the stored food after the death of the woman who was responsible, in whole or in part, for gathering and preparing it, is a clue to the concept of joint ownership. One of the most solemnly respected death customs is the destruction of all objects which belonged to the deceased or were intimately associated with him. But:

If a woman has some food stored up like that and she dies before she uses it, many times it is used afterward. It is not considered her personal property.

The cached food belongs to the relatives as well as to the one who puts it away, but only to the family and the relatives of the woman. If the family is

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dying out, more distant relatives are told about the cache, and the secret spreads out in this way, so the stores will be of use to those who need them and will not go to waste.

AGRICULTURE

No attempt was made to cultivate crops until very recent times. One, and perhaps two, of the three major subdivisions or bands raised no crops at all until the modern reservation period. The oldest Southern Chiricahua informant stated categorically: "My people did not practice farming. The Indians had many plants which were given to them [by nature] and did not have to farm. They moved around too much also." The Central Chiricahua were little more inclined toward agriculture. One of them observed, "I do not think the Chiricahua ever planted before they came under the influence of the whites." In 1873, shortly after the establishment of a reserve for the control of the Central and Southern Chiricahua, the first agent reported:

> In regard to the future prospects for farming operations by these Indians, I would state that I have conversed with Cochise and many of his head-men upon this subject repeatedly, and I am of the opinion that it will require some little time to bring them into the traces and make them submit to this exaction, which must eventually be required of them. They have never been an agricultural people, and claim that they do not know how to farm.[10]

But it is possible that the example of neighboring peoples who cultivated the land may have led to experiments on the part of individual families, as this statement of a Central Chiricahua suggests: "Even in Old Mexico, the Chiricahua tried to farm a little."

The Eastern Chiricahua, who seem to have had earlier friendly relations and trade contacts with the Spanish-speaking townspeople, began to farm even before the modern reservations were established. By 1869, according to government reports, the leaders of this band were complaining that they were being driven from lands where they used to plant.[11] Testimony from informants corroborates these old reports: "These Eastern Chiricahua Indians farmed before the whites came. They tell about

[10] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1873.

[11] *Ibid.*, 1869.

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OWNERSHIP OF GOODS, TRADE, AND GIFT-GIVING 156

Not all individuals display an equal willingness to engage in 461
every task that has been described. Shiftless persons have to [626]
be exhorted to better efforts by their spouses, relatives, and
friends. Concerning a man whose laziness is proverbial, an in-
formant remarked: "I heard his wife begging him to get out and
work. She said, 'We're hungry. We haven't anything to eat.' I
never was lazy like that man."

The strong group loyalty of kin, and the feeling that food 602
should not be withheld from the hungry, save the family of the 461
unproductive individual from acute suffering. "They just live 735
poorer, that's all." And, since both the man and the woman 156
work, remissness on the part of one is often compensated for by
the redoubled efforts of the other. Here it is that the relatives of
the partner who is being imposed upon step in to prevent his
abuse. The kin of a woman whose husband is economically
worthless to them are likely to bring pressure upon her ending
either in more significant contributions from the man or in a
divorce. If the fault lies with the woman, the husband's rela- [586]
tives remind him of the more satisfactory way in which he lived
before his marriage, and he feels that he has grounds for divorce.

Ordinarily, however, ridicule is enough to force the unenter- 461
prising into moderate conformity: 626
735
156

> If there is a lazy man who doesn't work but lives off the others instead, they give things to him all right, but at the same time they talk to him, telling him that he's able-bodied and has a family and should help himself and hunt and take care of himself. They scold him and shame him and try to make him change. A man like that usually changes; there are lots of them. Many of them don't even go to war, but prefer to stay at home with the women. Some make excuses and act sick and do things like that so they won't have to work.

The products of an individual's industry, skill, and daring are, 421
in theory at least, his own. The dwelling and the domestic arti-
cles she has made belong to the woman. How she disposes of
baskets, water jars, and parfleches is strictly her business, and
her actions are seldom disputed by her husband. The only limi-
tation on her rights is that her own household be reasonably well
equipped. Likewise, those things which a man makes or obtains

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421 are his own, and his wife may not dispose of them without his
[431] permission. But if he recklessly gives away all the booty he has
[626] earned in a successful raid and leaves his own family impoverished, he is subjected to stinging criticism at home and ridicule outside.

439 Trade is more likely to be intertribal than intratribal. "The women who didn't make their own pots got them in trade from the Pueblos and from the Navaho too. Those people came down with peaches and pots and things on burros and traded them for
438 saddles and things we had." But some bartering does go on
439 among tribesmen. "If a man wants a certain blanket, he offers something. If it is refused, he offers more until a deal is made." When something is needed for ceremonial purposes, a particular kind of feather, for instance, the one who has it is approached and offered whatever is required to induce him to part with it.

43 That trade is not further developed has been attributed by
463 informants to the lack of emphasis on specialization of labor:

> A good maker of bows cannot spend his time just making bows. Everyone makes his own bows and takes care of his own property. A woman who is widowed lives in a poorer condition, that's all. She does not get things she needs by trading.[19] There is not much specialization of labor. We were on the move
[648] all the time. The Mexicans were always after us. A person didn't have the chance to specialize on any kind of work and trade off the things he made.

43 Another barrier to great interest in trade is the solidarity of the
602 kin group and extended family in material matters. The ease
[426] with which objects can be borrowed for legitimate purposes makes less important their actual ownership and their acquisition by barter.

425 And yet, in various ways, goods do pass from person to per-
[525] son. The wagering of property on games of chance, for instance, makes for a great deal of circulation of possessions of all kinds. Gambling is almost a major occupation for some individuals, and persons of all ages and both sexes show a lively interest in it.
[465] Much wealth changes hands, too, as a result of payment for ceremonial services. Because so many persons are involved in the

[19] But for evidence that pots were sometimes traded see pp. 383–84.